

Relative Clauses in Old, Middle, and New English*

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1. Introduction.

It is not uncommon, in many older analyses of relative clauses, to find the word that treated as a relative pronoun in its occurrence as an alternative to who or which (e.g. see Onions (1971) and Pence (1947)). This is very probably because of its consistent position at the head of a relative clause, where who and which similarly appear, and because in New English there are few or no instances of that co-occurring with who or which on the surface.

I would like to propose, in accordance with analyses by Edward Klima (1964), Bruce Downing (1973a), and others, that in its occurrence at the head of a relative clause that is not a pronoun, but a mark of subordination which signals that the following clause in some way complements the main clause though not as a verbal complement. In other words, the that which appears in relative clauses and the that which appears in complement clauses are functionally equivalent. (I do not mean to imply that relative and complement clauses are themselves functionally equivalent.) I will show that an historical study of the patterns of relative clauses in Old and Middle English not only lends support to this analysis of that in New English, but incidentally elucidates and clarifies the structure of relative clauses in older stages of English.

In this historical study I will argue that not only are the traditional analyses of Old and Middle English relative clauses incorrect (in particular, that is neither a pronoun nor in any way the equivalent to who or which) but also that the transformational rules required to generate relative clauses in Old English were basically similar to the processes required for New English relative clauses. My main emphasis, however, is on historical explanation of the relationship between the relative clauses of Old English and Middle English.

In Section 2 I survey arguments presented by Klima (1964) and Downing (1973a) for the non-pronominal character of New English that, and cite further evidence for such a conclusion which I discovered in the course of writing this paper.¹ In Section 3 I give a brief but representative survey of the surface patterns of relative clauses in Old English. In addition there are discussions on both word order and the general means of indicating subordination in Old English. Section 4 is, again, a brief look at the surface patterns and word order of relative clauses in Middle English.

In Part A of Section 5 I explain a series of changes occurring relatively simultaneously in Late Old English which clearly show that Middle English that is not the reflex of the Old English demonstrative pronoun þæt, as stated in many traditional grammars of Old and Middle English, but the reflex of the coalescence in form and function of the Old English subordinating particle þe, and þæt, serving an entirely different function than the homonymous demonstrative pronoun. In Part B of this section I show that the analysis of relative clauses presented in this paper explains the relative clause patterns of Old and Middle English.

In Section 6 I discuss the ramifications of the analysis of that as a subordinating particle in several aspects of the synchronic analysis of relative clauses. In Part A I suggest evidence that the wh-word which is at the deepest level an adjective and not a pronoun; in Part B I argue and provide further evidence for the claim, originally made by Klima (1964), that all subordinate clauses, including restrictive relative clauses, are at some point in their derivation introduced by the subordinating particle that; and in part C I suggest that in a "Swooping" analysis of relative clauses the presence of that in restrictive, but not in non-restrictive clauses, can be explained by the analysis of the role of that which is presented in this paper.

2. The Non-Pronominal Character of that in Relative Clauses.

Bruce Downing (1973a) has pointed out several pieces of evidence for the non-pronominal character of that. The argument underlying all of his evidence seems to be that that cannot be a pronoun because unlike wh-words, it simply does not act like a pronoun. First, that² cannot be the object of a preposition. If a relative clause introduced by that also contains a preposition, the preposition cannot be fronted to the head of the clause, as is possible with wh-words, but must remain in its original position. The following sentences illustrate this (my examples):

- (1) The car in which I rode was black.
- (2) *The car in that I rode was black.
- (3) The car that I rode in was black.
- (4) The man on whom you depend is worthy of your trust.
- (5) *The man on that you depend is worthy of your trust.
- (6) The man that you depend on is worthy of your trust.

A possible reason for the difference is that prepositions cannot take particles as objects, but can co-occur with pronouns.

Second, Downing (1973a) points out that although in some dialects (7) is marginally acceptable, (8) is definitely not.³

- (7) That's the problem that I asked you to find out from Fred about it.
- (8) *That's the problem which I asked you to find out from Fred about it.

I have heard sentences similar to (7) in casual speech several times, and not necessarily in complex relative clauses.⁴

(9) I got some seeds that I didn't know how tall they grew.

(10) You can predict the vowel that it would appear.

(11) They're those ants that they build these huge mounds.⁵

(8) would be unacceptable because it contains two 'pronominalizations' of a single occurrence of the same noun. (7) is marginally acceptable because, although it is unlike most relative clauses in New English, it does not contain two pronominalizations of a single noun, as in (8). Consequently, Downing (1973a) refers to that in relative clauses first as a complementizer and later as a subordinating particle.

There are, however, several other pieces of data which suggest that Downing's analysis is a correct one. First, unlike 'relative' pronouns that cannot be inflected. Since several pronouns in New English, not only who, exhibit the last traces of inflection, if that were indeed a pronoun it would seem irregular that it could not be inflected.

Second, although it is possible to say

(12) What you've asked me to do will be difficult.

such a construction is not possible if that appears rather than what.

(13) *That you've asked me to do will be difficult.

But notice that (14) is acceptable.

(14) That which you've asked me to do will be difficult.

This is the case because that is recognized by speakers of English as being not a pronoun but a mark of subordination. Example (13) is therefore incomplete because it contains no subject noun phrase. Too, notice that it is possible to say whoever, whichever, or whatever, but never *thatever.⁶

Finally, in casual speech both the that which appears in verbal complements and the that which introduces relative clauses can be reduced to [ðt], or [t]. This is not true of the that which is a demonstrative pronoun. To realize that this is the case it is only necessary to pronounce (15) in fast speech.

(15) He said that he saw that boy that you were talking about.

The first and third occurrences of that are reduced much further than the second, which is a demonstrative pronoun.

In the remainder of this paper I will assume the arguments presented by Downing (1973a) and myself, and apparently Klima (1964),⁷ to be basically correct: New English that is not a pronoun but a subordinating particle, and has some relation to the subordinating particle of complement sentences.

3. Relative and Subordinate Clauses and Word Order in Old English.

In this section I will give a brief survey of three aspects of syntax in Old English. It is necessary, however, to first state that I am assuming the most valid source for data to be prose, since poetry must conform to certain externally imposed limitations on sentence structure, e.g. meter and alliteration. For, in prose, the only restrictions on structure would be those which normally operated in the language. Therefore, most of the examples are from prose writings. I am of course aware that even prose, because of its formality, does not entirely accurately reflect the spoken language. This is, however, an insurmountable problem when only written texts are available.

Also, a word about dates and translations: I take the OE period to be from approximately 500-1150 A.D., the ME period 1150-1500 A.D., and the NE period 1500-present (encompassing the period which is often called Early New English). Some of the translations of OE and ME passages were provided by the source. Others I have furnished. In several instances there are two translations, the first being fairly literal and the second more idiomatic.

3.A. Relative Clause Patterns in Old English.

The most common type of relative clause in OE was introduced by the indeclinable word þe, with the coreferential noun of the embedded sentence being deleted. Of the relative clauses introduced by þe most were cases in which the coreferential noun was the subject of the embedded sentence.

- (16) 'On oðre wisan sint to monigenne ða ðe⁸
wrohte sawað, on oðre ða gesibsuman'
In one way are to be admonished those who
sow strife, in another way the peaceful
(Gregory's Pastoral Care).
- (17) 'þonne ealra oþra kyninga þe in middangearde
æfre wæron ...'
Then all the kings who were ever on earth...
(Letter of Alexander the Great)
- (18) 'Giet scæl ic, cwæð Orosius...sprecan wiþ
þa þe secgan þæt þa ansealdas sien of wyrða
mægenum gewordene'
Yet shall I, said Orosius, speak with those who
say that empires have become of spoiled
strength.

þe alone also occurs fairly frequently when the coreferential noun is the object of the relative clause, though less frequently than when the noun is the subject.

- (19) 'her onginnað seo boc þe man Orosius nemnað'
here begins the book which one calls Orosius
(Alfred's Orosius)

Occasionally þe is used when the coreferential noun is in the genitive or dative.

- (20) 'of ðæm mere ðe Truso standeþ in stade'
from the sea which Truso stands on the shores.
from the sea on whose shores Truso stands
(cited in Mitchell (1968)).
- (21) 'Leof, ic þe cýðe hū hit wæs ymb þæt lond æt
Funtial, þā fīf hida þe delm Higa ymb spycð'
Dear, I let you know how it was about that
land at Funtial, the five hides which Edelm
Higa spoke about. (Letter to King Edward
the Elder)
- (22) 'Her on þysum geare for se micla here, þe
wē gefyrn ymbe spræcon'
Here in this year went out the large army
which we spoke about formerly. (Anglo-
Saxon Chronicle).

However, clauses of this type were rare because the fact that þe was indeclinable, in addition to the absence of any word in the relative clause which could be inflected, apparently obscured the relationships present in the embedded sentence and resulted in ambiguous or difficult sentences.

- (23) '...for mine soule ⁷ for mine louerde þat
ic under begeat...and for alle þe mannes
soule þe ic forþingiae'¹⁰
...for my soule and for my Lord who I acquired
under...and for all the men's souls that I
intercede.
...for my soul and for that of my Lord under
whom I acquired it [land]...and for the
souls of all the men for whom I intercede.
(Anglo-Saxon Will).

Because of potential difficulties of this type, with cases in which þe was used where the coreferential noun was in the genitive or dative, there often appeared on the surface a form of the anaphoric pronoun inflected according to the case required by the relative clause.

- (24) 'Eaðig bið se wer, þe his tohopa bið to Drihtne'
Blessed be the man that his hope is in the Lord.
Blessed be the man whose hope is in the Lord
(cited in Mitchell (1968)).

- (25) 'Þat se mon ne wat þe him on foldan fægrost
limpeð'
That the man doesn't know, that for him on
earth things go very pleasantly.
The man for whom things on earth go very
pleasantly doesn't know that. (cited in
Mitchell (1968)).

The occurrence of a þe plus anaphoric pronoun is not, however, restricted to cases which would be opaque without the pronoun. Such a pattern also occurs when the relative clause would require the coreferential noun to be in the nominative or accusative.

- (26) 'Ure ieldran, ða ðe ðas stowa ær holidan,
hīe lufodon wisdom'
Our ancestors, they who these places previously
occupied, they loved wisdom.
Our ancestors, who previously occupied these
places, loved wisdom. (Alfred's Preface to
Cura Pastoralis).
(27) 'Ure fæder, þu þe eart on heofonum'
Our father, you that art in Heaven.
Our father, who art in Heaven.
(28) 'hi sona compeðon wið heora gewinnan, þe hi
oft ær norðan onhergedon'
and they at once took the field against the
foe, that they often before had overrun the
land from the north.
and they at once took the field against the
foe, who had often before overrun the land
from the north. (*Orosius*).
(29) 'Nis nu cwicra nan þe ic him modsefan minne
durre sweotule ascegan'
There is no one alive that I to him dare reveal
my thoughts.
There is no one alive to whom I dare reveal
my thoughts. (cited in Mitchell (1968)).

Relative clauses also occur which are not introduced by þe but by an inflected form of the demonstrative pronoun only. In many, but by no means all of such cases, either the verb of the relative was haten 'to be called' or the clause in some way dealt with naming a person or an object.

- (30) 'Ða com of ðam wætre an nædre, seo was
ungemetlice micel'
Then came out of the water another, who was
very immense. (*Orosius*).
(31) 'fif Moyses boca, ðam seo godcunde awriten is'
five of Moses' books in which the divine law
is written. (Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*)
(32) 'ond þone æðeling ofslōgon and þa men þe him
mid wæron alle būtan anum, se was þæs
aldormonnes godsunnu'

In this type of relative clause there is no referential ambiguity, but it is not always clear whether the pronoun that introduces the clause is being used as a simple demonstrative or as a relative pronoun. A question of such functional ambiguity, though, could often be decided on the basis of word order (see Part B) since most relative clauses exhibited OV word order.

A third major type of relative clauses involves the 'combination' of the previous two, with the surface pattern: demonstrative pronoun plus þe. This pattern prevented the ambiguity of þe used alone because the demonstrative pronoun was inflected according to number and gender and the case prescribed by the relative clause. The presence of þe specifies the function of the demonstrative as a relative pronoun. The following constructions are different from those in (26)-(29) in that the latter are constructed with a form of the personal pronoun, whereas those below are formed with the demonstrative pronoun.

- (33) 'Hwæt se ðonne unryhtlice talað, se þe talað
ðæt he sie unscyldig'
He argues, therefore, wrongly, who argues that
he is incorrect. (Gregory's Pastoral Care.)
- (34) 'þe we ær beforan sædon, þa þe be norþan
Caucasus, þe we ær beforan sædon, þa þe be
norþan India sindon'
That is then of the mountains which one calls
Caucasus, which we said before, which are in
the North of India (Orosius).
- (35) 'þa gegaderedon þa þe in Norþhymbran bugeap
ond on East Englum sum hund scipa'
Then gathered those that dwell in Northumbria
and in East Anglia some hundred ships
(Anglo-Saxon Chronicle)
- (36) 'On six dagum wæron geworhte heofonas and eorðan,
sunne and mone, sæ and fixas, and ealle þa þe
on him syndon'
The six days were made heaven and earth, the
sun and the moon, the sea and the fishes, and
all that was on it. (Wulfstan's Homilies)

Instances of this particular type of relative clause are infrequent in early Old English, but become increasingly common. Although word order will be discussed in greater detail in a later section, it is useful to point out here that the increased occurrence of the se þe (variously seþe) pattern was probably due, at least in part, to the progressive loss of a change in the position of the verb, which in earlier OE was used to indicate relative clauses or any non-main sentence.

A final type of relative clause pattern in OE was, again, the result of an overlapping of two previously mentioned patterns: demonstrative pronoun—þe—anaphoric pronoun.

- (37) 'se bið leofast londbuendum, se þe him God
 styleð guma rice' [comma mine]
 that one is most beloved by land dwellers,
 that one that to him God gives the Kingdom
 of men.
 he is most beloved by land dwellers, who that
 to him God gives the Kingdom of men.
 he is most beloved by land dwellers, to whom
 God gives the Kingdom of men. (cited in
 Mitchell (1968)).

As with þe plus anaphoric pronoun the purpose of such a pattern was almost surely to clarify the relationships within the relative clause.

Indefinite relative clauses in OE could be formed either with a form of the interrogative pronoun, or by one of the patterns discussed above (see also (33) above).

- (38) 'swa hwa swa þe genyt þusend staþe, ga mid
 him oðre twa þusend'
 Whoever compels thee to go one mile, go with
 him two miles. (cited in Mitchell (1968)).
- (39) 'se þe þise cuide wille awenden be he amansid
 from God almichtin...'
 He who wishes to alter this will, may he be
 excommunicated from Almighty God...(Anglo-
 Saxon Wills)

Like New English that, a preposition could not precede þe in a relative clause. Since, according to Traugott (1972),¹¹ the demonstrative rarely occurred with a preposition, one would expect that in most cases involving a coreferential noun in a relative clause which was the object of a preposition, the clause would be introduced by þe and the preposition would appear later in the clause and probably at the end, as in many Old Norse relative clauses.

- (40) (Old Norse) 'ok er þer standeþ í'
 but who stands therein
- (41) (Old Norse) 'hefiande, þat er hann lá á'
 heaving, what he lay there

In fact, in most relative clauses containing a preposition, the preposition appears immediately before the verb, which is usually in final position.

- (42) 'and þat unstille hweol ðe Ixion wæs to
 gebunden...'
 and the ever-moving wheel to which Ixion was
 bound...(Alfred's Cura Pastoralis).

3.B. Word Order in Old English.

Contrary to many earlier statements in the literature word order in Old English was not free. For any language it is virtually impossible to make a statement regarding word order to which every sentence conforms. Old English was no exception. It is possible, though, to speak of tendencies and the predominance of the least marked order over others in a specific environment. Traugott (1972) divides the possible word orders into three main types.

- (I) In main clauses or the first of a set of coordinates, if the underlying sentence is a saying, promise or prediction, and if the proposition is affirmative, the order is:

Subject (Auxiliary) Verb (Object)

- (II) In main clauses if the underlying sentence is a command to answer (interrogative), or if the proposition is negative, or certain adverbs of time and place occur, the order is:

(X) { Verb } Subject...
 { Auxiliary }

- (III) In subordinate clauses or any coordinate clause except the first, the order is:

Subject (Object) ... Verb (Auxiliary)

All three types were subject to change for the purposes of emphasis. Of all the types of subordinate clauses which regularly exhibited Type III word order, relative clauses showed it the least often, although there is a definite tendency for relative clauses to have OV word order.¹²

This is not to say, however, that relative clauses in Old English were the only subordinate clauses to be inconsistent in the use of OV order (that relative clauses in OE were indeed subordinate is shown in Part C of this section). The frequency of Type III word order was decreasing in late Old English in all types of clauses and in fact represents the major syntactic change from OE to ME, i.e., the complete loss of OV word order and the extension of Type I word order in all but interrogative sentences. In later OE texts it is possible to find both Type III and Type I order in the same kind of subordinate clause and often in the same paragraph or even sentence.

- (43) 'Hu Ninus, Asiria cyning, ongon monna ærest
ricsian on þiosan middangearde'
How Ninus, King of Asyria, began to govern
the first men on this earth. (Orosius)
(No Type III word order; without surface
realization of past¹³)

- (44) 'Hu þæt heofenisce fyr forbærnde þæt lond on
þæm wæron þa twa byrig on getimbred'
How the Heavenly fire consumed the land on
which the two cities were built. (Orosius)
(No Type III word order; surface realization
of þæt)
- (45) 'Hu Thelesci 7 Ciarsethi þa leode him
betweenum wunnon'
How the people of Thelesci and Ciarsethi
fought between themselves. (Orosius)
(Type III word order; without þæt on the
surface)
- (46) 'ælc þære þe þas min word gehyrð and þa
wyrð, bið gelic þam wisan were, se his hus
ofer stan getimbrode'
each of those who hears my words and then works is
equal to the wise man who built his house on
stone. (Matthew, cited in Mitchell (1968))
(Type III word order in both relative clauses;
the first clause introduced by þe, the second
by the demonstrative).
- (47) 'And ælc þære þe gehyrð þas min word, and þa ne
wyrð, se bið gelic þam dysigan men, þe
getimbrode his hus ofer sandceosel.'
And each of those who hears my words and does
not work is equal to the foolish man, who
built his house on sand. (Matthew, cited in
Mitchell (1968))
(No Type III word order in either relative
clause; two introduced by þe and one by the
demonstrative)

3.C. Subordinate Clauses in Old English.

It is necessary here to take a brief look at subordinate clauses in general in Old English, and specifically at the surface marks of subordination. Earlier grammars of OE claimed that there was little subordination in the early stages of English and that most sentences were coordinate rather than complex in nature. Classen (1930) states that the relative significance of the clauses in a sentence was not indicated and seemed to attribute this to the fact that most OE literature was narrative. He concluded from this that there was an absence of abstract thought in OE literature and that this was in some way related to the lack of a definite article. More recent scholars of Old English, however, have reached an entirely different conclusion: although the conjunctions used in Old English to subordinate a clause may have been imprecise in meaning, and although there does not exist an exact parallel between structures which were subordinate in Old English and those which are in New English, there was certainly no lack of subordination even in the earliest of OE literature. Indeed, contrary to this, Andrew (1940) has argued that many principal (non-subordinate) sentences can in fact be shown to be subordinate.

The most common overt mark of subordination in OE was þat, functionally different from the nominative singular neuter demonstrative pronoun þæt, although phonologically identical and almost surely related etymologically. That þat as a subordinate clause introducer is functionally different from þæt as a demonstrative pronoun is made quite obvious (particularly in early Old English texts) by the fact that its presence is associated with verb-final position in the clause.

Þat could be used alone to indicate the subordinate status of the following sentence, as in complements, or in combination with conjunctions.

- (48) 'For ðon ic oft wiscte & wolde þat hyra læs
wære swa gewinfulra'

Because I often wished and wanted that the
servant were less wearisome. (Letter of
Alexander the Great)

- (49) 'ac hie on þære geþylde mid me awunedon þat
ic wæs nemmed ealra Kyninga Kyning'

But in their patience with me they abided (the
fact) that I was called king of all kings
(Letter of Alexander the Great)

- (50) 'þa sendan hie to Philippuse, 7 bædon þat
he hie ymb þat rice gesemde'

Then they sent to Philippus and asked that he
reconcile them about the kingdom (Orosius)

- (51) 'æfter þam þe Iæcedominie hæfdon Perse oft
oferwunnon, þa gebudon him Perse þat hie
hæfdon III winter sibbe wiþ hie, se þe þat
wolde'

After the Persians had often overcome Lacedominie,
then the Persians asked them that they have
(= to have) three winters of peace with them,
whoever wanted that (Orosius)

- (52) 'Sende to him Lucius Bretone cynning ærengewrit;
bæd hine 7 halsada, þat he þurh his beboð
Cristene gefremed wære'

To him Lucius, king of Britain, sent a letter
praying and entreating that under his
direction he might be converted to Christianity
(Bede's Ecclesiastical History)

- (53) 'þa gelamp æfter þon þætte Peahte ðeod com of
Scyððia lande on scipum 7 þa ymb ærndon eall
Breotone gemæro, þat hi comon on Scotland'

Then it happened that the Picts came in ships
from Scythia, and passed round the whole
British coast, till (that) they landed in
Ireland. (Bede's Ecclesiastical History)

- (54) 'hio gelyf'ð to hire bearnon þat hi willon
lyhton for hyre saulle'

she trusts to her children that they will free
them for her soul's sake. (Anglo-Saxon Wills)

- (55) ' 7for þon þe he on þa burgleode on ungearwe
becom, he hie on lytlan firste mid hungre on
his geweald geniedde, þæt him se cyning on
land eode'

And because he came suddenly upon the citizens,
he forced his strength upon them a little at
first with hunger, so that the king himself
went to him on land. (Orosius)

- (56) 'þa gegaderade Regulus ealle þa scyttan þe on
þam færelte wæron, þæt hie mon mid fl anum
ofercome'

Then Regulus gathered all the archers who were
on the way (journey), so that he overcame them
with arrows. (Orosius)

- (57) 'þæt is ðonne se medsceat wið his salle þæt þe
him gilde god weorc for ðære gife ðe he him
ær sælde'

That is, then, the price of his soul, that he
pay God good works for the gift that he
formerly granted him (Gregory's Pastoral Care)

- (58) 'buton þæt se wægnscilling ond se seampending
gonge to ðæs cyninges handa, swa he ealning dyde
æt Saltwīc'

except that the tax on wagons and the toll of a
penny go to the king's hand, as he always did
at Saltwich. (Grant to Worcester Monastery).

- (59) ' 7forþan ðe ðis ealond under þam sylfum norðdæle
middangeardes nyhst ligeþ, 7 leohte nihte on
sumera hafað - swa þæt oft on middie nihte geflit
cymeð þam behealdendum, hwæder hit si þe
æfenglommung ðe on morgen deagung - is on ðon
sweotol, ðæt ðis ealond hafað mycele lengram
dagas on sumera'

As this island lies very close under the very
north of the world and the nights here are
light in summer - so that often at midnight a
question arises among the spectators whether it
is the evening gloaming or the morning dawn -
by this it is clear that the days are much longer
in this island in the summer. (Bede's
Ecclesiastical History).

- (60) 'ic an þat¹⁴ lond at Lauenham mine dohtor childe
gif þat god wille þat heo ani haueð'

I grant that land at Lavenham to my daughter's
child, if (that) God wills that she have any.
(Anglo-Saxon Wills).

There also occurred subordinate clauses which were not
introduced by þæt. It is probably the case that in such instances
þæt was present at the head of the clause at some point in the
derivation to trigger Type III (subordinate) word order, since
the majority of such clauses exhibit OV order.

- (61) 'Swa ic wat he minne hige cuðe
So I knew (that) he could perceive my intention
(cited in Mitchell (1968)).
- (62) 'and gif heonon ne habbe gange it into stoke'
and if she has no children (see ex. (60)) it is
to go to stoke (Anglo-Saxon Wills)

However, þæt was not the only trigger of subordinate word order in Old English. þe was also used (more frequently even than þæt in non-complement sentences), the result of its insertion being that a simple adverb or preposition became a subordinating conjunction. That this was true can be shown by the fact that þe, just as þæt, fairly consistently appeared in clauses where OV word order was also present.

- (63) 'And ic an þæt Æthelfled bruke þe lond þer
wile þe hire lef beth'
And I grant that Aethelfled use the land there
as long as it is agreeable to her (Anglo-
Saxon Wills).
- (64) 'ða gemunde ic eac hu ic geseah ær þam þe hit
eall forhergod wære'
Then I also remembered how I saw, before it was
all plundered. (Alfred's Preface to Cura
Pastoralis).
- (65) '7 by syxtan monðe, þe he hider com, he eft
to Rome hwearf'
And six months after he had come, he returned
again to Rome. (Bede's Ecclesiastical History)
- (66) 'Be þam ðonne cuð is, þeah þe he mid wætere
fulluhtes bæpes abwegen ne wære, þæt he was
hwæðere mid þy bæðe his blades geclænse'
As to him it is certain, though he wasn't washed
with the water of baptism, that he nevertheless,
was cleansed by the washing of his blood.
(Bede's Ecclesiastical History).
- (67) 'Æfter þam þe he hie oferwunnon hæfde, he for
on Bretanie þæt iglond'
After he had overcome them, he went into the
island of Britain. (Orosius)

Also like þæt, þe could be deleted, so that for þam þe 'because' on the surface looked like for þam 'therefore'. This did not necessarily pose a problem for the speakers of Old English though because the accompanying change in word order in situations where for þam meant 'because' offers support for the presence of þe at some point in the derivation, deleted after it had triggered the change in word order. As with þæt, þe could be used without any preceding conjunction, e.g. in (65).

The specific functions of þe and þæt were very probably different, though the functions are hard to delimit in the available texts. The two words were in some environments interchangeable,

though definitely not in all. There are few, if any, instances of þe introducing a complement clause, although 'because' could be expressed either as for þam þe or for þon þat.

- (68) 'for þan þat he wolde Godes hyrde forlætan'
because he wished to desert God's flock.
(cited in Mitchell (1968))
- (69) 'Ond for þon þe ic þe wiste wel getyðne in
wisdom...'
And because I knew you well [to be] clever
in wisdom... (cited in Mitchell (1968)).

The translation of 'until' could be either oð, oð þe (oððe) or oð þat. The use of þat in environments in which þe originally is used becomes increasingly frequent in later Old English, and is even found in relative clauses as early as the middle of the tenth century.

- (70) '...and þat lond þat ic habbe at Dukeswrthe'
...and the estate which I have at Duxford
(Anglo-Saxon Wills)
- (71) 'And ic wille þat mine men ben alle free 7
Mann myne refe þat he sitte on þe fre lond
þat ichim to honde habbe leten'
And I will that my men all be free and to Mann
my reeve, [I will] that he sit on the free
land that I have given over to his hand.
(Anglo-Saxon Wills)

I will discuss the reasons for such a change in Section 5.

It seems to be obvious from the preceding discussion of relative and subordinate clauses in Old English that there existed a strong parallelism between them. Both types of clauses are frequently introduced by the word þe. Both show a predominantly OV word order, as opposed to the VO order of main clauses. I claim that this parallelism is more than coincidental; that rather it is the surface reflection of a deep syntactic and semantic relationship between relative clauses and all subordinate clauses in Old English; and finally that the word þe can in no way be considered a pronoun, just as New English that cannot. Further, I will present evidence in Section 5 and argue in Section 6 that this relationship has remained constant through Middle and New English despite the surface differences between those three stages of the language.

4. Relative Clauses and Subordinate Clauses in Middle English.

The earliest Middle English relative clauses were introduced by the word þat (later that), although there were a few sporadic occurrences of þe as a relative clause introducer (e.g. the Peterborough Chronicle). Like both OE þe and NE that, ME that was indeclineable and could not be preceded by a preposition. The use of that was increasingly generalized until it was by far the

most commonly used word in relative clauses, and could occur in all contexts, whether animate, inanimate, restrictive or non-restrictive.

- (72) 'Sest þou nat þan what þing folweþ alle þe þinges þat I haue seid.'
Do not say, then, what thing follows all the things that I have said (Chaucer's Boethius)
- (73) 'Demest þou nat quod she þat al þing þat profiteþ is good?'
Do you not think, she said, that all things that profit are good? (Chaucer's Boethius).
- (74) 'In the Zodiak ben the signes þat han names of bestes'
and in the zodiac are the signs that have names of beasts (Chaucer, Astrolabe).
- (75) 'Besechyng her that is the cause of this translation'
Beseeching her who is the cause of this translation. (Caxon)
- (76) 'wheþer trowest þou þat men sholde tourment hym þat haþ don þe wronge or hym þat haþ suffered þe wronge'.
whether you believe that men should torment him who has done the wrong or him who has suffered the wrong. (Chaucer's Boethius).

During the fourteenth century which was introduced in a relative function, followed later by whose and whom. These words were first used where the coreferential noun was in an oblique case, or the object of a preposition. Later the use of wh-words was extended to cases in which the coreferential noun was in the nominative and who also appeared in relative clauses, sporadically in the late fifteenth century and increasingly in the sixteenth century. At first which was used almost exclusively with prepositions and Traugott (1972) has suggested that this illustrated the need for a more precise relative word, i.e. one which could be used to express relationships more clearly than was possible with that alone. This claim is certainly supported by the order in which the wh-words were introduced, and their distribution, as noted above. The use of which was then extended and it became an optional variant of that in any relative construction.

All the newly introduced relative words noted above as well as whan and wher(e) co-occurred with that. There were even instances, though rare, of the use of who with that, which was not even introduced into relative clauses until after the use of that with wh-words had begun to decline.

- (77) 'Thy zodiak of thin Astralabie is shapen as a compas wich þat contenith a large brede'
The zodiac of the Astrolabe is shaped like a compass which has a large breadth (Chaucer, Astrolabe)

- (78) 'Wh-fore I fynde in cronycles þat þer was
som-tyme a worthy womman þe wiche þat hated
dedely a pore womman more þan vij yere'
Therefore I find in Chronicles that once there
was a worthy woman who hated very much a poor
woman more than seven years (Middle English
Sermons).
- (79) ' & eke to knowe by nyht or by day the degree
of any signe þat assendith on the est Orisonte,
which þat is cleped communly the assendent'
and also to know by night or by day the degree
of any sign that assends on the east Orisonte,
which is commonly called the ascendent (Chaucer,
Astrolabe).
- (80) 'Hus endeth this boke which is named the boke of
Consolacion of philosophie which that boecius
made...'
Here ends this book which is called the book of
Consolation of Philosophy, which Boecius wrote
(Caxton).
- (81) 'men shal wel knowe who that I am'
men shall well know who I am. (Caxton).

As indicated in (78) there was also a form of the relative
clause the which (Noun), extant until Shakespeare's time, whose
particular origin is unknown.

- (82) 'Ouer-thwart this for-seide longe lyne, ther
crosseth hym a-nother lyne of the same
lengthe from est to west. Of the whiche lyne
...is ycleped the est lyne'
At right angles to this aforesaid long line,
another line of the same length crosses from
east to west which is called the East line.
(Chaucer, Astrolabe).
- (83) ' & by that same proporcioun is every quarter
of thin Astrolabie deuyded over the which
degrees ther been nowmbres of augrym'
and by that same proportion is every quarter
of the Astrolabe divided, over which degrees
there are algorithmic numerals (Chaucer,
Astrolabe).
- (84) '...by þe wiche lawe all þat shall come to
hevene muste nedis be saued'
...by which law all who shall come to heaven
must (needs) be saved. (Middle English
Sermons).
- (85) 'Hir cloþes weren maked of ryt delye þredes
and subtil crafte of perdurable matere.
þe wyche cloþes sche hadde wouen wip hir owen
handes'

Her clothes were made of very fine threads
and subtle craft of lasting material which
(clothes) she had woven with her own hands.
(Chaucer's Boethius).

- (86) 'we ought to gyue a synguler laude unto that
noble 7 grete philosopher Geoffrey chaucer
the whiche for his ornate wrytyng in our
tongue may wel haue the name of a laureate
poet'

we ought to give a singular praise to that
noble and great philosopher Geoffrey Chaucer
who, for his ornate writing in our tongue may
well have the name of poet laureat. (Caxton).

- (87) 'þan shewep it clerely þat þilke shrewednesse
is wiþouten ende þe whiche is certeyne to ben
perdurable'

then it shows clearly that the same shrewdness
is without end which is certain to be
lasting. (Chaucer's Boethius).

- (88) 'There are other Troyans that thou dreams't not
of, the whiche for sport sake are content to
do the profession some grace'

There are other Trojans, of whom you cannot
dream, who do the profession some grace for
the sake of sport. (Shakespeare, "Henry IV")

Mustanoja (1960) suggests two possible origins for such a pattern:
(1) it might have been borrowed from the French 'lequel'; (2) it
might have been an archaism from Old English where the demonstrative
pronoun (which became the definite article) was used in combination
with þe. Traugott (1972) considers the pattern to be a result of
the fact that relative clauses are naturally definite, since the
coreferential noun in the relative clause is the second occurrence
of the noun and is thus already specified. None of these
explanations seems sufficient in itself.

It is unlikely, as in Mustanoja's first suggestion, that a
pattern like the whiche would be borrowed from the French unless
Middle English already contained the tendency towards the
development of such a pattern. It is, however, not unreasonable
to suppose that the strong French influence on English during the
Late Old English and Early Middle English periods encouraged the
use of such a pattern once it had appeared. Mustanoja's second
suggestion also presents difficulties, specifically with chrono-
logical concerns. By Early Middle English (c. 1250-1300) the
relative clause patterns of OE had been almost completely replaced.
The demonstrative pronoun had split into the invariable definite
article the on the one hand, and the invariable demonstrative
that on the other. The function of OE þe had been assumed by
þæt and become ME that (see section 5 for a complete explanation).
In only a very few isolated cases was the demonstrative used
with þe, both in a relative function. Therefore, an explanation
such as Mustanoja's fails to account for two things: (1) why the

occurrence of the whiche was so widespread (which it was) if it was only an archaism; (2) why the use of this pattern extended from Chaucer's time (c. 1350-1400) through Shakespeare's day (c. 1600). The speakers of Chaucer's Middle English could certainly have had no feeling for the relative clause patterns of one hundred to two hundred years earlier. Finally, to call the pattern the whiche an archaism of (e.g.) se þe implies that there exists a lexical equivalency of the forms se/the and þe/which. While the first equivalency could be possible, the second could not. I will show in Section 5 that not only is þe not the lexical equivalent of which, but the functions of each were entirely different. Therefore, Mustanoja's two possible explanations are either insufficient, as in the case of the first one, or totally incorrect.

Traugott's suggestion, while more likely, still seems to fall short. In Part A of Section 6 I will present what I feel to be a more plausible, though controversial analysis.

There are in Middle English many instances of the relative clause pattern that...PRO or which...PRO much like the OE pattern þe...PRO. The pronoun is inflected according to the case prescribed by the relative clause. Such a pattern is particularly frequent when several clauses intervene.

- (89) 'A knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
that fro the time that he first bigan to
riden out, he loved chivalrie'
There was a knight, and he (= who) was
a worthy man who, from the time he first
rode out, loved chivalry. (Chaucer,
"Knight's Tale").
- (90) '...ever deseryng to her of your wurschupful
ustate, the whiche all myghte God mayntayne
hyt'
...ever desiring to hear of your worshipful
condition, which may Almighty God maintain.
(Paston Letters)
- (91) 'As a good friend of mine has frequent made
remark to me, which her name, my love, is
Harris'
As a good friend of mine, whose name my love
is Harris, has frequently remarked to me.
(Dickens, Martin Chuzzlewit, cited in
Traugott (1972)).
- (92) '[He] asked...what hee shoulde doe to a woman,
whome hee suspected that she hadde falsified
her fayth'
He asked what he should do to a woman whom he
suspected of having falsified her faith.
(cited in Traugott (1972)).

After the middle of the seventeenth century several of the above-mentioned patterns became increasingly infrequent and

eventually disappeared completely, while the occurrences of other patterns were restricted to specific environments. The most obvious change was the loss of that on the surface when some form of the relative wh-words was present. Which that, whom that, or who that would all be considered ungrammatical today, even in the most casual of speech. However, the use of that alone to introduce a relative clause, which had decreased with the introduction of wh-words, once again became frequent, and is now the most common relative clause introducer in some dialects, despite efforts on the part of prescriptive grammarians to discourage its use. The uses of who and which have become relatively restricted to animate and inanimate respectively and the occurrence of either which...PRO or that...PRO is restricted to only casual speech (see Part A of Section 6 and Introduction).

In Middle English, word order could no longer be used to determine the status of a particular clause, as was possible in Old English. Type III word order was almost lost by the middle of the ME period, though there are scattered instances of it.

- (93) '...bigat upon his wyf, that called was
Prudence, a doghter which that called was
Sophie'
...begat upon his wife, who was called
Prudence, a daughter who was called Sophie.
(Chaucer, Melibee, cited in Traugott (1972))

Subordinate clauses in ME were often introduced by that, just as in OE. Pe no longer appeared in any type of subordinate clauses after very early Middle English, but the OE construction 'conjunction + pe' seems to be paralleled in the ME construction 'conjunction + that' (see the next section for a complete discussion).

- (94) 'Thenne I here recomende his soule unto your
prayers and also that we at our departyng
maye departe in suche wyse that it may
please our Lord'
Than I here recommend his soul to your prayers
and [I also recommend] that we at our
departure may leave in such a manner [i.e.
with your prayers] in order that it may
please our Lord. (Paston Letters).
- (95) 'But for an example to the people that they
may ther by the better use and foliwe vertue'
But for an example to the people so that they
might use and follow virtue better. (Ancrene
Riwle).
- (96) 'And she desyreth of hym that he schuld schewe
you the endentures mad between the knyght that
hath his dowter and hym: whethir that Skrop,
if he were married and fortunied to have
children, if the children schuld enheryte his
lond or his dowter the whiche is married'

And she desires of him that he should show you the indentures made between the knight who has his daughter and him: whether Skróp, if he were married and happened to have children, if the children should inherit his land or the daughter who is married. (Paston Letters).

- (97) 'In the mene while þat I stille recorded þise þinges wiþ my self...I saw stondyng aboue þe heyt of my heued a woman of ful gret reuerance'

While I was still recording these things with myself...I saw standing above the height of my head a woman of very great reverence. (Chaucer's Boethius).

- (98) 'For þat þei sholden conferme þe vertues of corage by þe usage and exercitiacioun of pacience'

Because they should confirm the virtues of courage by the use and exercise of patience. (Chaucer's Boethius).

- (99) 'With þe myt, wisdom, & grace of þe holy trynite, I write to you a tretice in Englisch breuely drawe out of þe book of quintis essencijs in latyn...þat þe wisdom and þe science of þis book schulde not perische'

With the power, wisdom, and grace of the holy trinity, I write to you a treatise in English briefly drawn from the book of Quinte Essence in Latin...in order that the wisdom and the science of this book should not perish. (Quinte Essence).

- (100) 'For gif þat shrewednesse makipe wrecches þan not be nedes be most wrecched þat lengest is a shrewe'

For if shrewdness makes wretches, then he must be most wretched who has been a shrew the longest. (Chaucer's Boethius).

- (101) 'The þridde maner is, þat ye take a greet glas clepid amphora and seele it well'

The third manner is that you take a large glass called an amphora and seal it well. (Quinte Essence).

- (102) 'Whan I remembered that every man is bounden by the commandement 7 counceyll of the wyse man to eschewe slouth'

When I remembered that every man is bound by the commandment and council of the wise man to eschew sloth. (Caxton).

- (103) 'And remeue thi rewle up and down til þat the streemes of the sonne shyne thorgh bothe holes of thi rewle'

And move the rules up and down til the rays of the sun shine through both holes of the rules. (Chaucer, Astrolabe).

- (104) 'But I suppose that som fayr lady hath desired hym to leue it out of his book'
But I suppose that some fair lady wanted him to leave it out of his book. (Caxton).
- (105) 'When þat good men ben at þer seruyce on þe halydaye...'
When good men are at their service on the holliday... (Middle English Sermons).
- (106) 'At þe laste hure goostely fadur called þis worthy womman unto hym and seid þat she muste foryeve þe pore womman'
At the end of her heavenly father called this worthy woman to him and said that she must forgive the poor woman. (Middle English Sermons).
- (107) 'I took the altitude of my sonne, & fond þat it was 25 degrees and 30 minutes of heyhte in the bordure on the bak-side'
I took the altitude of the sun and found that it was 25 degrees and 30 minutes of height in the border of the backside. (Chaucer, Astrolabe).
- (108) 'wiþ a lijfly colour and wiþ swiche vigoure and strenkeþ þat it ne mihte not be emptid'
with a lively colour and with such vigour and strength that it could not be exhausted. (Chaucer's Boethius).

5. The Relationship of Old English þe and Middle English that.

5.A. History.

It is clear from Sections 3 and 4 that the words thought to be relative pronouns by many grammarians of Old and Middle English, þe and that, were in reality 'subordinating particles'. These particles syntactically marked the clauses which they introduced as being subordinate to the main sentence. Even to label these words 'relative particles', as other grammarians have done, is slightly misleading since þe, for instance, was not restricted to occurring with relative clauses alone, but was used regularly in a variety of non-relative contexts. The function of ME that was precisely the same.

There is disagreement, however, over both the origin and the function of ME that: whether it was identical in form and function to the OE declineable demonstrative pronoun þæt, or identical in form only. Mustanoja believes ME that to be the direct descendant of OE demonstrative þæt invested with a new and different function as 'the need for a relative pronoun arose'. (He fails to explain why such a need arose). But several questions must be answered. Why was this particular word and not any other chosen to be extended to the "new" meaning? Such a choice can certainly not be arbitrary. Why would the demonstrative þæt, and not the þat which had long served as a mark of subordination, be the one

whose function was extended to relative clauses? Finally and most basic, why did the function of any word have to be extended? What had occurred in the system of English from the tenth to the twelfth centuries which created the need for a 'relative pronoun'? It is of course possible to say that ME that was a relative pronoun precisely because it was the reflex of the OE demonstrative pronoun þæt, but I think a much better explanation exists which can explicate the origin and function of ME that.

Traugott (1972) claims that because the functions of ME that and OE þæt (demonstrative) are different, one must attribute to them at least partially different origins. For instance þæt behaved as any other pronoun in that it could be declined and could follow a preposition. ME that, however, exhibited neither of these characteristics. This makes it likely that ME that originated, if not in an entirely different structure, then at least in the 'conflation' (Traugott's term) of the Old English demonstrative þæt with some other structure. A very possible candidate would have been the OE þæt which was used to subordinate complements and other types of clauses to the main proposition (as illustrated in Part C of Section 3). Although such a development would appear to be plausible it is possible to go much further in explaining Middle English that. Specifically, I suggest that ME that did indeed have an origin other than the OE demonstrative þæt, at least during the period of time between late Old English and Early Middle English when those changes that differentiated the two periods were taking place.¹⁵

I claim that the origin of Middle English that was the result of the falling together of both the functions and and forms of Old English þe and þæt (subordinator), and was not directly related in any way to the Old English demonstrative pronoun paradigm. That this is at least a plausible explanation was shown in Part C of Section 3 where there were examples given to show that the functions of þe and þæt overlapped and were in some cases interchangeable. Yet this cannot be the entire explanation. Elements of the syntactic system of a language do not coalesce spontaneously, or merely because they are partially redundant. That this is true becomes even more obvious when such elements are viewed not in isolation, which can produce a false picture of the system, but in relation to all other changes simultaneously occurring within the system. It is therefore necessary to take a look at some other changes in the Late Old English syntactic system which would have been contemporary with the postulated merging of þe and þæt.

During the period of time between Late Old English and Early Middle English, most of the nominal and pronominal inflections were lost. Already in the tenth century adjective endings had collapsed. This was due to the fact that in their unstressed word-final position most of the endings were reduced to schwa and could no longer be used to identify case, number or gender. Becoming, in effect, useless, they were eventually lost in both the spoken and the written language. The Scandinavian invasions

hastened this development and made it more complete. Mitchell (1968) suggests that the confusion of endings in Scandinavian and Old English, which were similar, added to the fixing of stress on a non-final syllable and probably led to a faster decay of the 'confusing elements'. The effect of this development on relative clauses was probably that a decreasing number of relative clauses were formed with an inflected form of the demonstrative pronoun, and be was used even more frequently than it had been before.

A second development, which cannot be separated from the loss of inflectional endings, was the recession of OV (Type III) word order in any clause, whether subordinate or not. It is probable that some 'fixing' of word order preceded the loss of inflection, since the use of Type III word order was not totally consistent even in the time of Alfred (c. 850-900). If word order had been variable inflections could not have been lost since either word order or inflection was needed to express the basic relationships of the sentence. Therefore, some growth in the analytic nature of English must have preceded the leveling of inflections. However, these two developments could not have been totally chronologically distinct, rather they probably exhibited, as Traugott (1972) says, a cyclical development in which the fixing of some word order patterns allowed the loss of some inflections which in turn caused the introduction of restrictions on word order in new environments. On the surface, this gave the appearance of inconsistency in both inflection and word order.

The most important change leading to the merger of be and bat, though, was the extension of b throughout the demonstrative paradigm due to a form of list contamination. Of the three least marked forms of that paradigm, two did not follow the rest of the paradigm in being b-initial, but instead were s-initial: se, seo. According to Prokosch (1939), analogy has had greater influence on pronominal systems in Indo-European languages than on any other part of speech. It is not implausible, then, for such a development to take place. The result would be the nominative singular series be, seo, bat, and it is immediately clear that the change se > be would produce the nominative singular masculine form be, phonologically identical to the subordinating particle be. If the use of the particle be was increasing due to the loss of inflection, and the use of the demonstrative se was increasing as it began to function as the invariable definite article,¹⁶ the above change would seriously interfere with the identification of a particular form be as the subordinating particle or the demonstrative (definite article). A resulting confusion was all the more probable since it was decreasingly possible to use Type III word order to distinguish the two forms of be. Only the context could be used, which might prove to be less than reliable and indeed often ambiguous. Such a situation would be intolerable for any extended period of time and would probably change. The following examples show just what the resulting and necessary change was. Both examples are from early Middle English.

(109) 'Bi him bat Judas sold and died upon be
rode'

By him that Judas sold and died upon the
tree. (Lazamon's Brut).

- (110) 'Nout one þeo þæt hit speked, auch þeo
þæt hit hercneð'
 (There is) not one who speaks it who doesn't
 also hearken unto it. (Ancrene Riwe).

According to Brooks, the two texts of Lazamon's *Brut*, from which the first example is taken, have many passages in which the earlier version uses be to introduce relative clauses and the later version uses þæt (þat). This suggests that because be could no longer be used unambiguously to signal a subordinate (including relative) clause, this function had to be assumed by some other element. What better choice of a form whose function was to be extended than a word whose function already partially overlapped that of the original be? To exemplify this change more fully, below is a series of passages from the Laud manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with their dates. It can be seen that as the use of be as an article increases, the use of be as a subordinating particle decreases and its function is taken over by þæt.

- (111) 'Ond se abbot of Baðon. Ond þe of Perscoren'
 (1086).
 And the abbot of Bath and that of Perscoren.
- (112) 'þurh þa mænig fealdlice gylð þe ealles
 ealles þises geares ne geswicon' (1118)
 Through the many rural offerings which for
 all of this year didn't fall short.
- (113) 'Ond wið hine accordedan þe æror mid heora
 castelan him togeanes wæron' (1119)
 And (they) made terms with him (they) who
 had formerly with their castles been against
 him.
- (114) 'Ðysra deað was heora freondan twyfeallice
 sār. An þæt hi swa fearlice þises lifes
 losedan, oðer þæt feawa heora lichaman ahwær
 syððan fundena wæron' (1120)
 This death was two fold grievous for their
 friends. One [reason was] that they lost
 their lives so fairly. The other that few
 of their bodies were found anywhere after-
 wards.
- (115) 'Ðises geare wurdon sehte seo cyng of
 Englalonde on se of France' (1120)
 This year were reconciled the King of England
 and the one of France.
- (116) '...þa hwile þe þa munecas sungeþ þære
 messe' (1122)
 ...while the monks sung the mass.
- (117) 'Ond þær æfter þe Tywesdæi æfter Palmes
 Sunendæi was swiðe micel wind on þæt dæi'
 (1122)
 And the Tuesday after Palm Sunday there was
 very much wind.

- (118) 'Ond se fir weax na þa ma up to þe heouene'
(1122)
And the fire grew no more up to the Heaven.
- (119) 'him wið cwæðen munecas and eorlas ond þeignes
ealle mest þe þær wæron' (1123)
The monks and the earls and almost all the
thanes that there were spoke with him.
- (120) 'Ða sone in þe lenten ferde se ærcebiscop
to Rome' (1123)
Then soon in the lent the archbishop
traveled to Rome.
- (121) 'Ða com se ærcebiscop of Cantwarabyrig...þa
munecas of þe mynstre' (1123)
Then the archbishop of Canterbury came [and]
the monks of the ministry.
- (122) 'Ond þæt was eall mid micel rihte forði þæt
hi hæfden fordon eall þæt lond' (1124)
And that was all with much correctness because
they had destroyed all that land.
- (123) 'ond mid him com se swen and his dohter þæt
he æror hæfde given þone Kasere Heanri of
Loherenge to wife' (1126)
And with him came the queen and his daughter
whom he had previously given as a wife to King
Henry of Loherenge.
- (124) 'þær was se Scotte King David, and ealle ða
heaued læred and læuured þæt was on Engleland'
(1127)
There was the Scottisch King David and all
the learned chiefs and sages that were in
England.
- (125) 'Ðes ilces geares com fram Ierusalem Hugo of
þe temple' (1128)
(In) the same year Hugo of the temple came from
Jerusalem.
- (126) 'And þurh Godes milce and þurh þe biscop of
Sereshire and te biscop of Lincoln and te
oþre ricemen þe þær wæron' (1132)
And through God's might and through the
bishop of Sereshire and the bishop of Lincoln
and the other powerful men that there were.
- (127) 'and begeat there privileges, an of alle þe
landes þe lien to þe circewican' (1137)
and sprinkled (handed out) the privileges,
one of all the lands of the abbey, and another
of the lands that belong to the church.
- (128) 'Ond him com togenes Willelm earl of Albamar
þe þe king adde beteht Eurrwice' (1138)
And William earl of Albamar came to meet him,
to whom the king had entrusted Eurowice.

- (129) 'On þis gær wærd þe King Stephne ded and
 bebyried þer. his wif and his sune wæron
 bebyried æt Fauresfeld. þæt minster hi
 makedan. þa þe king was ded þa was þe eorl
 beionde sæ...þæt ilce dæi þæt Martin arcebiscop
 of Burch sculde þider faren þa sæclede he and
 ward ded' (1154)

In this year the king Stephen died and [was]
 buried there. His wife and his son were
 buried at Fauresfeld, which the minister
 made. When the king was dead the earl was
 across the sea. The same day that Martin,
 archibishop of Burch should (was to) travel
 there he sickened and died.

The following examples are from "Seinte Marherete" and "Sawles
 Warde", two sections of a composite work called The Katherine Group,
 dated approximately 1210-1230 and considered to be Early Middle
 English.

- (130) 'Þe þridde suster. þat is meað. hire he makeð
 maister ouer his willefule hird þat we ear
 of speken'
 The third sister who is moderation, her he
 makes master over his willfull flock, which
 we hear of.
- (131) 'ne nime we neauer zeme. for al þat is on eorðe'
 We never take heed of all that is on the earth.
- (132) 'Mi þridde suster meað spekeð of þe middel wei
 betuhhe riht 7 lust þat lut cunnen'
 My third sister speaks of the middle way
 between right and lust which few know.
- (133) 'Mi suster strengðe is swiðe bald. and seið
 þat nawiht hardes ne mai hire offearen'
 My sister strength is very bold and says that
 nothing difficult can frighten her.
- (134) 'Swa ich haue ofte isehen þe hali þrumnesse
 fader 7 sune 7 te hali gast'
 So I have often seen the holy trinity Father
 and Son and the Holy Ghost.
- (135) '...for þe sorhful sar þat heo in hire isehen'
 ...for the sorrowful grief that she saw in her.
- (136) 'Hwil þat ha spec þus, me to-leac hire, swa
 þat te ueele reue for þe stronge rune of þat
 blodi stream...ne mahte for muchele grure
 lokin þidewardes'
 While he spoke thus, one tore her apart, so
 that the evil reeve for the strong running
 of that bloody stream might not look there
 for much horror.

- (137) 'þe engles, as ha beren þe sawle in hare
bearmes, sihen towart heouene'
The angels, as they bore the soul in their
bosoms, ascended toward heaven.
- (138) 'Þis beoð þe wēpnen þat me wurst wundeð'
These are the weapons that wounded me the
worst.

There are a few scattered instances of þe used in a relative clause, but much fewer than in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

Clearly then, Middle English that is not the reflex of the Old English demonstrative pronoun þæt, which remained as the only demonstrative pronoun (besides this, which is from another paradigm), but of the coalescence of the two subordinating particles þe and þæt when morphological, phonological, and syntactic changes elsewhere in the system caused a surface confusion of the particle þe with the article þe (< se). It is also evident in the above data that this development was gradual, probably progressing at different rates in the different Old and Middle English dialects.

5.B. The Introduction of Wh-Words in Relative Clauses.

Another difficult question regarding Middle English relative clauses concerns the reason for the introduction of the set of interrogative pronouns for use in relative clauses. Mustanoja (1960) suggests that interrogatives became relative pronouns first by losing their force in indirect questions and then weakened further until they became a generalizing (indefinite) relative. Finally, interrogative words became full relative pronouns when they appeared with an antecedent. This is, however, not a sufficient answer. First, it must be noted that indefinite relative pronouns formed with the interrogative stem already existed in Old English.

- (139) 'Þa hi wæron þær ge gaderod, þa bed se cyng
heom þæt hi scoldan cesan hem ærce biscop
to Cant wara byrig swa hwam swa hi woldan'
Then they were gathered there, the king bade
them that they should choose as archbishop
of Canterbury whomsoever they wishes.
(Bede's Ecclesiastical History).

Second, Klima (1964) points out that there are several differences between the wh-words that are used in relative clauses and those used in interrogative sentences: (1) Relative clause wh-words don't occur with certain modifiers which do occur with interrogative wh-words.

who else came	vs.	the man who else
who was there of interest	vs.	the man who was there of interest

(2) Relative clause wh-words can take plural or singular verbs

whereas interrogative wh-words can only co-occur with singular verbs.¹⁷

A more complete explanation presents itself when one again takes the entire system of the language into account. Once the use of the demonstrative in relative clauses died out, the speakers of Middle English were left only with the uninflected particle that to signal relative clauses. Just as with Old English clauses with be alone, this would have caused ambiguity in a number of cases as to the exact function of that and some other means of showing the relationship between the elements of the clause was needed. Since wh-words were already used in indefinite relative clauses, it is not particularly surprising that such words might be extended to fill the gap left by the loss of the declinable demonstrative. Soon after the OE period, the interrogative form hwilc was adopted as a relative (indefinite relative clauses) and later the use of whose, whom and finally who were extended to definite relative clauses. According to Traugott (1972) who was the last wh-word to be extended, possibly because its environment (i.e. the coreferential noun was in the nominative) was the least ambiguous. Indeed, it is possible that its extension was only due to a desire for consistency, since at some point it would have been the only interrogative indefinite word which was not also used in definite relative clauses.

5.C. Further Clarification of Old and Middle English Relative Clause Patterns.

With the above analysis of Old and Middle English relative clauses, some light can now be shed on surface patterns which had heretofore been regarded with at least some degree of puzzlement. For instance, the two patterns se be and which that would appear to be redundant in the older view of be and that as being relative pronouns. It is clear now, however, that each is the combination of a declinable relative word with a subordinating particle. They seem redundant to us merely because New English relative clauses appear with one or the other, but never with both. The second of the two words, either which or that, is superfluous. Notice that the se be form was used frequently only in Late Old English, when the usual means of conveying the information that the following clause was a relative clause were no longer unambiguous. And the which that pattern had completely died out by the time of Shakespeare since by that time the use of wh-word alone to introduce a relative clause was probably quite familiar. That is, only when there was danger of a loss of information, or when unfamiliarity with new forms could cause ambiguity, were such "redundant" patterns widespread. The same reasoning can be used to explain the patterns be...PRO and that...PRO. It appears that once the speakers of Middle English had become accustomed to the use of wh-words over a period of several generations (almost the same period of time that it took all the wh-forms to be extended to the new use) that was no longer needed to signal the subordinate status of the relative clause.¹⁸

It is necessary at this point to explain a transformation that would be needed for this partial analysis of relative clauses in Old and Middle English, namely that-insertion. The presence of such a transformation in the derivation of relative clauses is necessary if that is indeed a signal of subordination, because such a word could not be present in deep structure. In Old English this transformation would have to have applied before any transformation changing word order, since a clause would have to be marked as subordinate before the word order could be changed to that of non-main sentences, OV. Even in those Old English subordinate clauses in which þe or þæt did not appear overtly, it must have been present at some point in the derivation. Had this not been the case, relative clauses which were introduced by the demonstrative pronoun only, would never have exhibited OV word order since the presence of a clause-initial demonstrative pronoun was never accompanied by subordinate word order in main clauses. Once þe was inserted, it would have signaled that other transformations relevant to the derivation of relative clauses were possibly applicable, specified by the presence of two coreferential nouns. þe could then be optionally deleted.

The forms se þe and which that can now be seen as the result of failing to delete þe and that for the reasons specified above, i.e. when the se and which were insufficient by themselves to specify the relationships between the elements in the clause. Once clauses introduced by wh-words were unambiguously interpretable as relative and the whose and whom forms could be used, the deletion of that became obligatory if the wh-word itself was not deleted. It is obvious that since Early New English the deletion of either the wh-word or that has been obligatory, although the choice of which word is to be deleted to a large extent depends upon the dialect of the speaker and the situation.

It seems, then, that both the deep structures and the transformations necessary to derive a relative clause in Old English are strikingly similar to those necessary for New English relative clauses, most specifically with respect to the subordinating particle. To recapitulate, Old, Middle and New English relative clauses are all formed with an indeclinable particle that cannot be followed by a preposition. This particle can be accompanied in Old and Middle English by a declinable pronoun, but only rarely if ever in New English (see Section 4) because the use of both the pronoun and the particle appears to be redundant. In addition, the particle which introduces relative clauses in all three periods in the history of English show striking, and I think non-coincidental, similarities to the words used to signal subordination in each of those periods. In OE, the same þe that introduced relative clauses also changed a preposition into a subordinating conjunction. The ME word that which introduced relative clauses was the same particle that was used in complement sentences and after certain conjunctions like after, before and while: the reflex of þæt and þe which functioned as subordinating particles in Old English. I will argue below (see Section 6) that this is also the case in New English as well. When OE þe and ME and NE that do not appear, it is because

they have been deleted at some time after that-insertion, rather than never having been present at all in the derivation. A final similarity between these three periods is the sporadic but nonetheless noticeable occurrence of the pattern that (or be)...PRO in certain environments.

Most differences between Old and New English relative clauses consequently appear to be only superficial: the declinable relative pronoun in Old English was formed from the demonstrative stem, whereas Middle and New English use the interrogative/indefinite stem; the subordinating particle in Old English was be while Middle English used the particle that; restrictions on surface structure increased in the New English period, making the deletion of either the pronoun or the particle obligatory; and in Old English most relative clauses exhibited OV word order. However, the transformations necessary to derive relative clauses have not changed. In all three periods, once the sentence which forms the relative clause immediately follows the antecedent, that-insertion applies producing an intermediate structure like (140).

(140) 'I saw the boy that Sue likes the boy'

Then the rules which determine the form of the wh-word apply and finally the deletion rules which produce the surface structure.

6. Relative and Subordinate Clauses in New English.

In this section I would like to discuss some possible ramifications of the preceding analysis of relative clauses and the word that. These are meant to be suggestions as to possible alternative analyses to the present ones and not absolute statements. I will therefore be brief, but hopefully not so much as to obscure the line of reasoning.

6.A. Relative Which as an Adjective.

It may have become apparent that I have been rather vague about the exact transformations which apply after that-insertion. The reason for this is that I feel it is possible that the traditional analysis of the wh-word as being the result of wh-attachment to the noun in the clause and subsequent left-movement is at least partially incorrect. In discussing the relative clause pattern that (be)...PRO earlier I concluded that such a pattern could be explained as an effort to retain semantic information which the speaker or writer felt would be lost if only that (be) appeared on the surface. It was also pointed out and illustrated in Section 2 that such a pattern also appears in New English, arguing that that is not a pronoun but a particle, since it would be unlikely to have two surface pronouns referring to the same antecedent. This would mean that in the derivation of a that...PRO relative clause, no other transformational rules specific to relative clauses would apply. Rather, pronominalization would apply producing a clause whose structure was closer to the deep structure than would be the case were all the other transformations opted for.

Downing (1973a) says that such a pattern is not possible with a wh-word, so that while (141), (142) and (143) are possible (at least marginally acceptable), (144) and (145) are not.

- (141) 'That's the problem that I asked you to find out from Fred about it'
- (142) 'The man that I just reminded you of the fact that he was going to call this afternoon is on the phone'
- (143) 'There are many people that we can't talk about all of them'
- (144) *'That's the problem which I asked you to find out from Fred about it'
- (145) *'The man whom I just reminded you of the fact that he was going to call this afternoon is on the phone'

However, I have personally heard several people use relative clauses which contain both a wh-word and the appropriate pronoun; and although sentences like those in (146)-(153) and (171)-(182) below are always termed unacceptable to native speakers of English, not one of these sentences was met with any reaction, negative or otherwise, when uttered. In fact, sentence (148) actually appeared in writing, on a student exam in an introductory linguistics course.

- (146) '...which initially people might think it would have a limited appeal'
- (147) 'That's all part of the energy saving measures, unless someone's working on them, which that happens, too.' (that was used as a demonstrative pronoun here).
- (148) 'Syntactically synonymous sentences are ones in which their basic structure is the same'
- (149) 'May be that's from a full grown animal, which it would be tougher'
- (150) 'There are certain parts of a theory which they're small parts but crucial to the theory'
- (151) 'I almost don't want a desk door on that because it won't let me see the wood in there, which it wouldn't let me look at that'
- (152) 'I have to type the footnotes and the bibliography which I don't know how long they're going to be'
- (153) 'which being cool and being caves the people built homes on top of it'

If the pattern that...PRO is used to argue against attributing a pronominal function to the word that in relative clauses, it is possible that the pattern which...PRO is an argument against attributing a pronominal function to wh-words as well. However, if which isn't a pronoun, and one would certainly not want to call it a particle, what else might it be? I suggest that another

possibility is that which, at least at a deep structure level, is an adjective. There are three facts which might support such an analysis.

First, both demonstratives in Old English and which in Middle and New English can function as adjectives when they precede a noun.¹⁹ Second, it is possible to find relative clauses, at least in Middle English, in which which appears as well as the second occurrence of the noun.

- (154) 'The better part of valour is discretion, in
the which better part I have saved my life'
(Shakespeare, "Henry IV")
- (82) 'Of the which lyne...is ycleped the Est Lyne'
- (84) '...by þe wiche lawe all þat shall come to
hevene muste nedis be sauēd'

Third, there are many instances where the deletion of the noun after which (not necessarily in a relative clause) is optional.

- (155) 'How do you determine which features are
distinctive and which features aren't'?
- (156) 'How do you determine which features are
distinctive and which \emptyset aren't'?

This pair of sentences shows the adjectival function of which in (155) becoming pronominal in (156). Such a change in function is entirely parallel to what happens with the demonstrative, where the demonstrative adjective as in 'that thing' becomes a pronoun when the noun is deleted. Hence, the following pairs of sentences parallel to (155) and (156).

- (157) 'John's will and the will of his wife'
- (158) 'John's will and that of his wife'
- (159) 'That argument provided the motivation for his
quitting.'
- (160) 'That \emptyset provided the motivation for his quitting'

All of this suggests that a rule of wh-attachment does not apply to the noun in the relative clause thus changing the noun itself to the appropriate relative pronoun. Rather, there is very likely some kind of insertion rule that places the appropriate relative adjective before the noun in the relative clause and does not at that stage affect the noun. The derivation of a relative clause up to this point would then look like:

Remote Structure: I saw the boy I like the boy
That-insertion: I saw the boy that I like the boy
Wh-adjective insertion: I saw the boy that I like the
which boy

The Middle English patterns the which (Noun) provide evidence for the placement of the inserted adjective, i.e. that it is inserted

directly before the noun and not the article. This is entirely parallel to the placement of all adjectives in English.

the yellow house	vs.	*yellow the house
the happy child	vs.	*happy the child
the sitting dog	vs.	*sitting the dog

What happens at this point is not clear. It is possible that the adjective alone is moved to left and placed at the head of the clause before that. A structure like (161) would then be produced.²⁰

(161) 'I saw the boy which that I like the boy'

It could not be the case that the entire phrase 'the which boy' undergoes left-movement at this point because it would then be impossible to derive the structure which...PRO. If the whole phrase is moved there would be no noun left in the original position to be pronominalized, and it is clear that the noun must be in its original position at the time of pronominalization in order to produce the which...PRO and that...PRO patterns. If pronominalization did not apply at this point, as is usually the case, there would be an obligatory deletion of the coreferential noun and either the which or that. The two possible surface structures would be as in (162) and (163).

(162) 'I saw the boy that I like'

(163) 'I saw the boy who(m) I like'

and optionally

(164) 'I saw the boy I like'

If pronominalization applies only the deletion of which or that is obligatory and (165) and (166) would result.

(165) 'I saw the boy which I like him'

(166) 'I saw the boy that I like him'

(These are of course oversimplified examples. Most occurrences of which...PRO and that...PRO appear in longer or more complex sentences.)

It is not impossible, though, that the relative adjective which is not moved to the head of the clause, but that the entire noun phrase—article, adjective and noun—is copied at the head of the clause with the subsequent deletion of the noun phrase in its original position. The noun phrase would have to be copied and not moved because, again, to move the noun phrase out of its original position would prevent the derivation of which...PRO. The plausibility of the copy and deletion analysis is shown by the existence of the pattern the which (Noun) in Middle English, as in (154).

- (154) 'The better part of valour is discretion,
in the which better part I have saved my
life'

How else could such a surface pattern be derived if not by left-movement (which doesn't seem to totally account for the facts as I pointed out above) or by copy and deletion? It might be argued that the existence of such a pattern in Middle English proves nothing about the situation in New English. This is very true, yet Middle English itself had both which...PRO and the which (Noun) which could only be accounted for by the copy and deletion analysis. Since which...PRO still appears sporadically in New English it is not impossible that (154) does also, as a remote structure.

In any case, the relative clause cannot be the result of the simple left movement of a noun to which wh-attachment has applied, since that noun appears on the surface as a pronoun in the exact position that it had in deep structure. The order of transformations relevant for all stages would be:²¹

- (1) That-insertion
- (2) Wh-adjective insertion²²
- (3) Copying of either the adjective alone, or the entire noun phrase including the adjective, at the head of the clause
- (4) Optional pronominalization of the noun
- (5) Deletion of the noun in its original position (if (4) has not applied)
- (6) Deletion of the noun at the head of the relative clause (if this rule is necessary)
- (7) Deletion of either that or which, or both, according to dialectal, stylistic and other considerations

If the relative adjective which is the only element moved to the left, a derivation would look like the following:

Deep Structure: I have seen the woman and John saw the woman.

Swooping: I have seen the woman John saw the woman.

That-insertion: I have seen the woman that John saw the woman.

Wh-adjective insertion: I have seen the woman that John saw the which²³ woman.

Left-movement of adjective: I have seen the woman who that John saw the woman.

Deletion of noun:²⁴ I have seen the woman who that John saw.

Deletion of Relative PRO: I have seen the woman that John saw.

or Deletion of That: I have seen the woman who(m) John saw.

or Deletion of both: I have seen the woman John saw.

If the entire noun phrase is copied at the head of the clause the derivation would be:

Deep Structure: I have seen the woman and John saw the woman.

Swooping: I have seen the woman John saw the woman.

That-insertion: I have seen the woman that John saw the woman.

Copying of the NP: I have seen the woman the woman that John saw the woman.

Wh-adjective insertion: I have seen the woman the which woman that John saw the woman.

Deletion of original NP: I have seen the woman the which woman that John saw.

Deletion of copied NP: I have seen the woman who that John saw.

Wh-Adjective Deletion: I have the woman that John saw.

or That-deletion: I have seen the woman who(m) John saw.

or Deletion of both: I have seen the woman John saw.

It is possible that some of these transformations may be collapsed. Also, some of the structures seem intuitively doubtful, at least, in their unwieldiness and length. However, I must repeat that this Part (A) is only suggestive of what would seem to be a fairly natural outgrowth of the analysis of relative clauses presented in Section 5 and not necessarily the only manner in which to derive relative clauses.

Another possible analysis suggests itself if one looks at relative clauses in older Indo-European languages, such as Hittite, Old Persian, Greek and Latin. In these languages relative clauses precede the main clauses in most cases and thus are of the form (cited in Hahn (1965)):

- (167) 'which utensils are therein, these he takes up'
- (168) 'which offering you protect, that indeed goes to the gods'
- (169) 'which room the soldier gave the concubine, in that room I have bored through the wall'
- (170) 'which slave was bringing this token, I have tricked him'

The historical development of such constructions has always shown right-movement of the wh-element.²⁵ If structures similar to the ones above were still valid for the deepest structures of Old and Middle English (at least), a partial derivation would look like the following:

Deep Structure: I saw the boy and I like the boy.
 Swooping: I saw the boy I like the boy.
 That-insertion: I saw the boy that I like the boy.
 Wh-adjective insertion: I saw the which boy that I
 like the boy.
 Wh-right movement: I saw the boy which that I like
 the boy.

Old and Middle English relative clause patterns (specifically se be and the which (Noun)) can then be explained as a copying of the coreferential noun phrase at the head of its clause with subsequent deletion of either the noun, that or both. That...PRO patterns would result from failure to copy the noun at the head of its clause and pronominalizing it instead.

6.B. Relationship of Relative and Subordinate Clauses.

I have already argued that the subordinating particle that which appears in Middle English relative clauses is the result of the conflation of the two Old English subordinating particles be and bat, the second of which continues into New English as the that which occurs in complement clauses. This of course implies, and I wish to claim, as do Downing (1973a), Klima (1964), and others, that the that in New English relative clauses is the same word in both form and function as in complement clauses.²⁶ This is supported by certain facts mentioned in Section 2, namely that neither can follow a preposition (unless it is used to introduce an entire sentence, e.g. in that S), neither can be inflected and in fast speech both can be reduced further than the demonstrative that.

Robin Lakoff (1968) proposes that once the structure N-S has been generated by the Phrase Structure Rules (she says nothing about Swooping since she is concerned only with complement sentences), a rule applies which automatically inserts that before the embedded sentence. She calls the rule that-attachment or complementizer-placement. She suggests that that should be considered the basic "complementizing morpheme" because it has the least effect, of all the complementizers, on the structure of the embedded sentence.

I would like to claim that that is inserted before every subordinate clause, once it has been designated as being subordinate, and that this is true even of clauses where that almost never appears. I cannot say now exactly what specifies a clause as being subordinate to the main clause, but it seems to be a matter of semantic "triggering" rather than syntactic since that is inserted before types of subordinate clauses that have different syntactic structures. If the presence of that in the surface structure is superfluous, as it is in many cases, or if another complementizer, e.g. Poss-ing, is opted for, that is deleted.

That that is present at some stage of the derivation, even in structures in New English where it rarely appears, is obvious from the following examples, all of which I personally have heard spoken and by "educated people".

- (171) '...because that the assumptions of the theory didn't allow for that'
- (172) 'We were there three days before that you could rent the fishing equipment'
- (173) 'We hear from the news agencies long before that we're notified by the companies'

It is possible to interpret these three as being shortened versions of because (of the fact) that and before (the time) that, respectively. However, the following have no such interpretation.

- (174) '...even though that there are these assumptions in the scientific community'
- (175) 'That may be one reason why that Kohoutek is so faint'
- (176) '...unless that Geauga County changes its zoning laws'
- (177) 'That's why that those with malaria didn't get sickle cell anemia'
- (178) '...whether that sentences like these are simpler'
- (179) 'We were all kidding about how that she would get every job in Indo-European for the next fifty years'
- (180) 'It got to where that if I went to a dinner everyone would bring my favorite recipe'
- (181) 'They had just finished putting in the septic tank the day before that they decided to have sewers'
- (182) 'The reports did sound like that she was upset'

It is interesting to note that these examples are precisely parallel to many of the Old and Middle English subordinate clauses cited earlier.

It is of course necessary that there be some means of differentiating the types of subordinate clauses once that has been inserted, but as yet I do not know how that would be done, although it would certainly, at least in part, depend upon semantics.

6.C. The Subordinating Particle and Swooping.

Until now I have avoided distinguishing between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. In Old and Middle English the particles þe and that, to which I have attributed some sort of subordinating force, appeared both in relative clauses that could be interpreted as restrictive and those which were non-restrictive. However, this is not the case in New English. One of the most obvious differences between these two types of clauses is that while restrictives may be introduced by the subordinating particle, non-restrictives may not.

- (183) 'The man that has a green shirt on is
Mary's husband'
(184) *'John, that has a green shirt on, is
Mary's husband'

I believe the explanation for this difference to be that the information conveyed by a non-restrictive relative clause is not semantically necessary to further identify the antecedent. It is not 'semantically subordinate'. This is reflected syntactically in the fact that the subordinating particle cannot occur in a non-restrictive relative clause where the clause is felt to be coordinate. That the subordinate particle does appear in restrictive relative clauses reflects the opposite: that the information in the clause is necessary to further identify the antecedent and is thus semantically subordinate to the main clause. A restrictive relative clause 'complements' the main clause, in a sense, by completing the identification of a particular object, the antecedent.

By saying that a restrictive relative clause 'complements' the main clause, I do not in any way mean to claim that restrictive clauses are closer to complement clauses than to non-restrictives. I feel that the reason given above for the presence or absence of that in a New English relative clause is entirely compatible with the analysis of "Swooping" for both types of relative clauses. The proponents of the transformation called "Swooping" claim that relative clauses are generated by the Phrase Structure Rules as a simple sentence conjoined to or at least coordinate with the main sentence. One of the two sentences is then swooped into the other and inserted immediately after the noun which is coreferential to the noun in the "swooped" sentence. The structure NP-S, according to the Swooping analysis, is only a remote structure rather than the deepest structure of relative clauses as is claimed by some opponents of the Swooping analysis.

Assuming the Swooping analysis to be correct then, once one of the coordinate sentences has been swooped into the other, certain semantic considerations must be taken into account to decide whether the relative clause is restrictive or non-restrictive. Neither Postal (1967) or Thompson (1971), two leading proponents of Swooping, has as yet arrived at a satisfactory means of signaling which clause is restrictive or non-restrictive (other than Postal's (1967) suggestion of marking the clauses [#Main]). However, I claim that once the clause has been designated as restrictive or non-restrictive, a rule of that-insertion applies to restrictive clauses, thus syntactically marking their semantically subordinate status. This rule is not allowed to apply to relative clauses which have been specified as non-restrictive since the presence of that would incorrectly mark them as subordinate, which they are not.

Footnotes

*This is a slightly revised version of my OSU M.A. thesis. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Robert J. Jeffers who, as my adviser, has provided me with many helpful suggestions and shown continued interest in my work. I would also like to thank Dr. Arnold Zwicky and Dr. David Stampe for their comments on this paper. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Michael Geis, who first asked me why I referred to that as a pronoun.

1. At the time that I wrote my thesis, Downing's (1973a) paper was not available to me, only the mimeographed notes from it. Consequently, Section II is more a surmising as to his arguments rather than an actual summary. Also, several points which he brings out in his paper, which I have since obtained, I had arrived at independently, e.g. that as a complementizer in relative clauses, and some although not all of the arguments pointing to that conclusion related to that in other subordinate clauses; differentiating restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses on the basis of the insertion or non-insertion of that; the assumption of the function of OE þe by the OE complementizer þæt when þe was no longer unambiguous in function, as I explain in Section 5. Herbert Stahlke has also argued for the analysis of that presented here in the preliminary version of a paper entitled Which That (February 1975). Since I didn't see his paper until this issue of Working Papers was ready to go to press, his arguments are not incorporated here. It is interesting to point out, however, that what he considers to be one weak point in his presentation, the inability to explain diachronically why that should behave as it does synchronically, is no longer a weak point in view of the historical analysis of that which I present in Section 5.A.

2. I exclude from the discussion in this section all instances of the that which is a demonstrative pronoun. I am referring only to the occurrence of that as a relative clause introducer.

3. David Stampe has pointed out to me that there is a dialect in which (8) occurs as often as (7), but often as "That's the problem which I asked you to find out about it from Fred". I have also heard many sentences similar to (8). See Section 6.A for a discussion of such sentences.

4. Foss and Fay (1974) analyze similar sentences (e.g. "And when Indians chew cocoa, which they chew cocoa all day long, they...") as the result of failure to delete the coreferential noun. However, with the sentences below and those in Part A of Section 3 there is more going on than just a failure to delete, since the noun shows up as a pronoun. Perhaps failure to delete the noun allows it to be pronominalized.

5. I do not mean to say that such sentences are "correct" in the prescriptive sense of the word. However, I found sentences with this pattern to be very common, much more so than might be expected. And, like another type of sentence mentioned below which would be labeled "ungrammatical" in traditional terms, these sentences were never met by any negative reaction, on the part of linguists or non-linguists.

6. Pointed out by David Stampe.

7. Although Klima (1964) does not provide explicit evidence in his dissertation that that cannot be a pronoun, he does suggest a reason

for the presence of that in relative clauses which, by implication, argues against a pronominal function for that: since the presence of a wh-word in a particular set of sentences (those which become questions) triggers the inversion of the auxiliary, it is necessary in relative clauses, indirect questions and subordinate clauses to somehow block that inversion. Klima proposes that it is the presence of the subordinator that in these clauses which does just that, i.e. once a wh-marking is present at the head of the clause, that must be inserted to prevent inversion. He seems to have ignored the fact that that never appears in non-restrictive relative clauses to which, nevertheless, inversion does not apply.

8. 'ð' is an orthographic variant of 'þ' and did not necessarily indicate that the sound was voiced.

9. The symbol 7 was called a sigil and was the equivalent of 'and'.

10. In this example ignore the use of þe as an article and þat where þe normally appears in OE. These changes will be discussed in Section 5. This passage is probably from a dialect which preceded most others in the changes discussed in that section.

11. p. 105.

12. See, e.g. Brown (1970:89), where he does a statistical analysis of word order in Alfred's *Cura Pastoralis*: dependent clauses showing verb-final order by far outnumber those not showing verb-final order.

13. See Part C on subordinate clauses.

14. þat is only a variant spelling of bæt.

15. It seems fairly certain that OE bæt (demonstrative) and bæt (subordinator) ultimately derive from the same stem, during Pre-Old English or possibly Proto-Germanic.

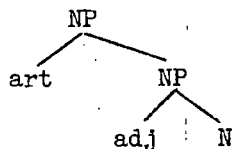
16. This development finds its parallel in Greek, Old High German and partially in Gothic.

17. This may be due only to the fact that non-indefinite relative clauses are always definite, i.e. have an antecedent that is marked for number, while interrogative sentences never do. Notice that in indefinite relative clauses, e.g. 'Whoever breaks that window will have to pay' the verb is also restricted to the singular.

18. See above where it was noted that by the time who was fully established as a relative word, the use of that with a wh-word has disappeared.

19. Notice that even in interrogatives such an analysis is possible: which ball = which (of all the possible balls) and who [is coming] = who (of all possible people) is coming.

20. Arnold Zwicky has pointed out to me that being able to move the adjective alone out of the construction



is unlikely. The same problem will arise in the alternative analysis suggested below. At this point I do not know how to avoid the situation,

since the facts do strongly suggest, at least to my mind, that which is indeed a deep structure adjective and thus embedded in a structure like the one above.

21. I assume the analysis called Swooping to be correct, though I have not indicated that it has applied in this derivation.

22. It is unlikely that this transformation is actually a substitution of which for the, since in all of ME and well into Early New English instances of the pattern the which (Noun) were common.

23. Possibly the relative adjective is only in wh-form (rather than a complete word) at deep structure level, and is specified later after lexical insertion.

24. At this point the adjective becomes a pronoun. Also at this point the optional pronominalization would apply.

25. Pointed out to be by Robert Jeffers.

26. Jespersen (1949) approaches this claim when he says "the relative that is thus brought in close connexion with the use of that which was so extremely frequent in earlier periods, where it stood to our eyes redundant after other conjunctions, relative adverbs and relative pronouns..."

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